1: Pelzer S-5 (1940-1941) 1945 AL1 Southeast Asia AL1

rice takes up nitrogen in the form of ammonia, the value of green manures on wet-rice fields is apparent.[15] In the Indies, *Crotolaria* species are the most frequently used green manures, the favored one being *Crotolaria juncea* L.; but *Phaseolus lunatus* L., *Dolichos lablab* L., and *Pachyrrhizus erosus* Urban are also used. The peasants of the Red River delta in Tongking are in the habit of working into the ground the wilted matter of a number of legumes that have been grown primarily for seed. The peasants of the province of Nam Dinh have developed a technique that may be unique. They push handfuls of indigo branches into the ground between the rows of rice a few days after the latter has been transplanted, for they believe that indigo is superior to pig manure or human excreta. In Indochina rice-growers frequently cultivate green manure, especially *Crotolaria* species, on dry fields and carry it to the rice fields at the time when these fields are being prepared for the seedlings. A green manure used exclusively in a few districts of the delta land of Tongking is the small aquatic plant, *azolla*.[16] Certain villages, thanks to favorable circumstances, have specialized in the growing of azolla to sell to the surrounding country, while other villages reproduce the plant until sufficient quantities of green manure have been obtained to cover all needs. The life cycle of azolla is completed in the months from November to April or May. Only the villagers of LaVan know the secret of maintaining and multiplying the plant during the hot season. They guard this secret jealously since it is the basis of their livelihood.

Further studies are needed to establish which varieties of green-manure plants are best suited to the various environmental conditions. It is important to find plants that grow rapidly and can be sown when the rice is still on the field, just after the water has been drained off to allow the grain to ripen. Experiments should also be made in the timing of the application of green manure. Should it be early, or just before the transplanting of the seedlings? Should it be on dry or on wet land?

Crop rotation also has its place as a means of keeping up the fertility of wet-rice fields. This practice seems to be better developed and more prevalent in Java than in any other country of Southeastern Asia. Extensive areas of *sawah*, as the Javanese call their wet riceland, are planted with dry-field crops such as maize, legumes, and other vegetables during the dry season, a practice that has a beneficial effect upon the soil. This form of double cropping is probably better than raising two rice crops in one year, because—although a different variety of rice is chosen for each season—both make essentially the same demands upon the soil; whereas a peanut crop, for example, grown during the dry season will enlarge the nitrogen content of the soil. In some areas of Java lowland rice is rotated

[15] Imperial Bureau of Soil Science: Tropical Soils in Relation to Tropical Crops, 1936, p. 11.

[16] For a map showing the extent of the use of azolla, see Gourou: Les paysans, 1936, p. 392. For further discussion see Nguyên-cong-Tiêu: "L'azolle," 1930, B, pp. 335–350 (also in *Proc. Fourth Pacific Science Congress, Java, 1929*, Vol. 4, 1930, pp. 355–370).

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Inshore Fishing

226 Inshore sea fishing is by far the most usual in Southeast Asia. The boats used are generally very small, often needing only a man and a boy to work them, indicating the small units of the industry. Land and sea breezes play a key part in the rhythm of activity, being the source of power to and from the shore. It is unusual for the boats to move more than a mile from shore and rarely do they lose sight of land. Much inshore fishing is done without boats at all. The beaches are netted by fishermen moving waist deep through water and, wherever fish are known to migrate along the coast, barriers of bamboo are built out, leading the fish into a square enclosure or trap from which they are periodically drawn up in a net by a fisherman who lives with his family on a platform above the trap. Probably three-quarters of Southeast Asia sea fishing is done where the sea is less than 10 ft. deep. The fish thus obtained tend to be of the small type and a large proportion are crustacea, much favoured in local diet. Huge quantities of crabs, shrimps and mussels are obtained, and squids are regularly netted in large numbers for local use. The shells of crustacea are ground to powder and used in conjunction with the areca nut as a favourite old-fashioned chew common to the whole region. Because coastal fishing takes place so close to the shore where breakers are violent, it is markedly seasonal in character, depending on aspect relative to the seasonal winds. This seasonality is a great incentive to preserve the fish to last through that season when the little fishing boats cannot cope with the heavy seas. Inshore fishing closely relates to the shallow waters of the Sunda Platform; where the coast drops away to great depths, the intensity of fishing diminishes.

Distribution of Fisheries

438 While fishing commands a wide interest, it is by no means
226 uniformly developed through the region. Broadly, the coasts near densely populated areas are the most intensively fished and estuaries and deltas have major fishing developments, though neither at the Red River mouth nor the Irrawaddy mouth has fishing reached a high pitch of development. The Mekong, particularly at the seasons when the Tonle Sap water is discharging, has great attraction for fish and the whole coastal zone from the Mekong

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round the Gulf of Siam to Singapore is well fished and is one of the few known tracks of fish migration in these seas, possibly relating to the southwesterly drift of the Mekong discharge. The Malacca Strait also has vigorous fishing industries, associated with the fishing at Bagansiapiapi and Pangkor which have been commercialised by Chinese. Along both sides of the Malacca Strait fish traps stand out from the coast almost continuously for mile after mile. Bagansiapiapi fish comes almost entirely from traps set across the creeks of the Rokan River. In the Philippines, themselves spread athwart the equatorial currents of the Pacific like a great trap, the annual catch of fish exceeds that of any other territory, yet the Philippines import much canned fish in addition.

For most Southeast Asia countries information about the significance of fishing activities is sketchy, although in every case fish ranks high in the basic foodstuffs. The total activity in fishing is enormous; probably 3 million people are engaged in Southeast Asia fishing and the amount of internal trade in fish must total far higher than so widely dispersed and so little commercialised an industry might at first suggest. There is always a substantial movement of fish in various forms from the coasts to the interiors and from one territory to another, as the following points indicate:

Burma.—That Burmese developed their tradition well in the interior may explain why it is only in Arakan and Tenasserim there has been intensive sea fishing. Within the Irrawaddy distributaries South Indians have taken to fishing and they deliver fish on ice to the rice farmers of Lower Burma, whose diet is more monotonously rice-and-fish than is the case towards the interior. The Buddhist tradition causes Burmese to disrespect fishermen on the grounds that they are responsible for the destruction of many living creatures. From Tenasserim and Arakan, surplus fish is exported to Malaya and India respectively, the total value (over 1935–40) being of the order $115,000 annually, of which Malaya takes over three-quarters. In net trade Burma is a fish-deficit area, importing over $3½ million of fish (about 12,000 tons), 60 per cent from India.

Malaya.—About 100,000 tons of fish were regularly landed on Malayan coasts by some 20,000 fishing boats (1950) chiefly on the coasts of Selangor, Perak, Trengganu, Pahang and Penang. At Singapore heavy prewar landings were accounted for by the deep-sea trawl-fishing done by Japanese crews working at long range

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among the remoter islands and off Borneo. In addition to this home production, over $9 million of fish (1947) was imported dry from the East Indies, Siam and Indochina, mainly as part of Singapore's entrepôt trade; only a small portion of this import was consumed in Malaya.

In Malaya and Burma pond cultivation has been negligible.

East Indies.—In Java intensive fishing is carried on, though its coast is small in proportion to its population and production has rapidly become inadequate, in contrast with the thinly-peopled coastlines of Sumatra, Celebes and Borneo. Java's fishing concentrates upon the northwest coast where 21,000 tons were caught in 1940; farther east along the north coast fishing diminishes. A large part of the catch moves to West Java and the Outer Islands for the plantation workers. Since 1900 the interest in fishing declined until Java became no longer self-supporting in fish and imported from Siam and Indochina which together supplied about 45,000 tons annually in the seasons 1938–40.

To establish commercialised fishing in the Outer Islands was no easy matter, but in Sumatra and Borneo a start had been made. At Bagansiapiapi about 12,000 Chinese had established a large fishery producing annually about 35,000 tons of fish which went to Java (60 per cent), Singapore, Penang and Malacca. To salt the fish nearly 20,000 tons of salt moved into Bagansiapiapi. In Borneo, Soekadana on the west and Pegaban and Kotabaru on the east were fishing centres, supplying the interior and exporting yearly about 4,000 tons of dried fish to Java; Macassar functions as a market for pearl and shell fishing and for the *abalone* (Holothuria) catch of the eastern seas besides exporting annually about 1,300 tons of *agar agar* (a seaweed for jellies).

To Java and Madoera just before the war 49,000 tons of cheap fish were imported from Siam and Indochina by way of Singapore, 46,000 tons from East Sumatra, and 8,000 tons from other Outer Islands. The home catch of sea fisheries totalled about 94,000 tons per annum, and fish weighing nearly 30,000 tons (1947) was obtained from ponds and rivers. Lake Tempe (South Celebes) has been intensively developed for inland fishing and 3,000 tons of dried and salted fish were exported from that district in 1946.

Indochina.—Although the physiography of the Indochina coast appears to favour sea fishing, yet coastal fishing interests local people less than the inland fisheries. A luminant oil for peasants

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is extracted from Indochinese fish. Salt water fishing produced 150,000 tons annually before the war. Only along the Annam coast, particularly near deeper waters round Tanh Hoa, is inshore fishing very active on the basis of trawling and seining, which are unusual styles for Southeast Asia. The Cambodian coast, meeting place of migrant fish from the Mekong mouth and the Siamese and Kra coasts, produces fish of exceptional size. The Mekong distributaries are also considerably fished to supply the Saigon and Cochinchina markets. Of the freshwater fishing that in Tonle Sap is the best known and most productive, but there are others well developed in the streams of Tonkin and along the Mekong, where oxbow lakes and artificial ponds are used for seasonal fish cultivation.

Fish products rank high in Indochina's exports, though valued only at one per cent of the total exports. Shipments usually go to Malaya and averaged 37,000 tons per annum for the period 1939–41, but they were valued at $2 million in 1950.

Siam.—Every Siamese is said to eat some fish with every meal of rice. At any rate the Siamese consumption of fish is estimated to be larger than for any single Southeast Asia unit. Much of the fish comes from inland fisheries and the floods of the Chao Praya and the Nam Mun create natural ponds which last long enough to fatten many fish. These inland fisheries are not well documented. Fishing is taxed according to the implement used rather than in relation to the amount caught, yielding a revenue of $.9 million (1944). Siamese sea fishing provides that dried fish which is exported. Mackerel, sardine and pilchard types migrate along Siam's attenuated coast and they are exhaustively fished as a whole though individual fishing units are small and poorly organised. At certain seasons the sea offshore is almost solid with squid which are caught in large numbers for eating. Probably 43,000 tons of fish are annually salted on the coast for transport and trade, but poor organisation and careless salting with low-grade brine taken direct from the sea has given Siamese fish a low reputation; it ranks as the lowest grade of salt fish in Southeast Asia markets. The export usually ranks at about $2.5 million annually (100,000 tons 1941), going to Singapore, Penang and Hongkong, largely for re-export from those places. Because the local fish is inferior, higher grade fish are annually imported from surrounding areas to a value of some $1.5 million (1950). The fish

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trade was largely Chinese, but Japanese fishermen had pirated the coast for years, using large trawlers serving markets in Singapore and in Japan.

Philippines.—Fish is as important in Filipino diet as in that of peoples on the mainland, and it is likewise an inadequately documented phase of their activities. Only in 1939 was a census of fishing taken. The amount that went into inter-island trade was small compared with the catch and only 100 out of the 1,600 types of local edible fish were marketed. Filipino fishing resembles that elsewhere in Southeast Asia and both inshore and inland methods are used. In the last decade also, some deep fishing had developed and steam trawlers landed quantities of *bonito*. Deep-sea fishing centres on Batangas, Manila and Sulu, whereas the inshore types are most developed round Mindoro, Batangas and Bulacan. More than 90 per cent of inland fishing (from rivers, ponds and lakes) comes from Batangas, Bulacan, Laguna and Rizal. The Pampanga and Iloilo districts have many fish ponds. Pearl oysters are gathered sporadically round the Palawan and the Sulu Islands.

In 1939 about 180,000 Filipinos were fully engaged in fishing and another 200,000 fished part-time. The total catch was then valued at $150 million. Fish had no significance as an export and about 400,000 tons were imported in 1940.

Postwar Fishing

Casually organised and producing a poorly graded commodity Southeast Asia fishing has everywhere an important place in the diet of local people. The international trade in fish within the region has certain resemblances to the rice trade in direction, in variability from year to year, and in foreign monopolisation of the middleman function and trade organisation. On the other hand, the dispersed and loose organisation of Southeast Asia fishing proved an advantage in the war period. Its simplicity of operation, use of locally-made boats for fishing and bulk transport, and ease of replacement of locally-made equipment, meant it suffered lightly from the war.

The fish trade between Southeast Asia countries was, however, paralysed, owing to difficulties of procuring bulk salt supplies and of transport, but the rice-eating people in rural areas were not seriously deprived of their supplementary fish, so much of which was caught nearby. The large towns which once consumed fresh

Chapter Twenty-four

INDUSTRY AND TRADE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

If "industry" be taken to include all activities connected with processing, then there is more industry in Southeast Asia than appears at first glance, though not much manufacturing in mechanised factories may be found. The territory is, however, overwhelmingly agricultural and in almost every part of the region it is subsistence agriculture which employs and sustains the largest number of people. Much manual processing is done by these subsistence agriculturists on their own little farms to prepare their production for their family consumption.

Cottage Industries

The tradition of being self-supporting in each territory, the national counterpart of individual subsistence farming, is very strong even today, finding expression in the widespread cottage industry of weaving and in that Southeast Asia custom of making a single length of span-broad, hand-made cloth the basis of a skirt-like dress—the *sarong*, *lungi*, *panung* and so on. Today this domestic weaving, where it has managed to persist in spite of competition from cheap imported cloths, uses imported cotton yarn, although parts of Burma still weave homegrown silk, and Siam and Indochina continue home-weaving on the basis of Indochinese silk. Only in Java has the "cottage industry" become elaborated into a village factory industry for a more intensified and commercialised production of sarongs. Ninety-two per cent of Java's *batik sarongs* (printed cotton skirts worn by men and women alike) come from factories of less than 80 workers each; this specialised process of dyeing in patterns defined by wax is now done by the small factory working upon imported cotton cloth.

The other considerable domestic industry deriving from the subsistence tradition is that of making innumerable varieties of articles from plaited palm leaves. Containers of many sorts, hats, domestic utensils, house walls, mats, fish traps and agricultural

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tools are all made by villagers using the palms and bamboos of their setting. Boats, shoes and tools are made of wood by peasants, mostly for their own use. While this type of industry usually secures no place in national statistics and has low monetary value, it plays a most important part in Southeast Asia life which may be described as still in the "Wood Age" so far as most peasant and rural life is concerned. Domestically-made cigars and cigarettes supply local needs and rapidly displace the *areca* or *betel* chewing habit. In Burma, the Philippines and Java cigar-making has become commercialised for trade and export; in Java some $9 million of hand-made cigarettes entered trade during 1937.

Throughout the region, too, are scattered remnants of a metal-working industry, as in the beaten silver of Malaya and Java, the niello work of Siam, and the gold settings for precious stones in Burma.

But these domestic industries rank as small by external standards and they play a negligible part in international trade. They must not be forgotten, however, because in the evolution of Southeast Asia we may see grow up forms of industrialisation originating in these domestic industries, as has been the case in the industrial evolution both of Europe and of the Far East. In these domestic industries little or no money is involved. At their simplest they are "subsistence industries" providing the family needs and scarcely anything more.

Thus most Southeast Asia people produce what food their families need and what articles they need. Their requirements from outside are very small and in any case their way of life involves so little money that they have small means to buy anything outside their local subsistence ecology. That was the earlier condition everywhere in Southeast Asia before the industrial revolution in Europe, and it continues both in the simple form and in many variations even today, when there have evolved groups of people in Southeast Asia who are entirely dependent on wages to buy food and what other articles they need. The subsistence principle is still strong in that very little money interchange goes on among the great majority of the population; some of them by doing part-time work earn wages, yet the money they earn has a very low average, indicated by the very low per capita revenues of the various states. Just before the war, Indochina revenue

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additional expansion under the almost autarchic conditions of the war period. Political instability within India can, however, offset this advantage.

It is to be noted that the great markets for goods manufactured from Southeast Asia commodities so far have been in Europe and the United States. The little nations of Southeast Asia seem ill-prepared to absorb much of them for some years. Because food is produced in such large quantities in this typically agricultural zone, we may not overlook the possibilities of manufacturing foods in forms such as biscuits, jam and canned varieties. Hitherto the tight association with industrialised colonial powers has to some extent dissuaded intense application to the miscellany of industrial productions possible in Southeast Asia, yet the local nationalisms and the incentive to establish more balanced social and communal systems tend to encourage local industries. Burma, Siam and Indochina before the war were only lightly touched by these tendencies to manufacture.

From the point of view of the rest of the world, a re-orientation of the tremendous quantity of Southeast Asia's primary agricultural materials now handled by processing industries already established in Europe and the United States, would have major effects, not least on the ability of those industries to maintain their manufactured exports at levels which have been increasing over the last century. Thus, a nationalistic Southeast Asia driving towards self-sufficiency industrially is likely to diminish the international trade streams to and from this region, though it may progressively increase the occupational activities and living standards of Southeast Asia people.

Intra-Regional Trade

A total value of about $400 million was involved in the prewar interchange of goods and commodities between one part and another of the Southeast Asia region. This intra-regional trade was relatively small because the component units of the region produced much the same commodities and goods, by reason of which the countries tended to be rivals rather than customers of one another. An additional factor was the pull of several metropolitan areas, Britain, France, Holland and the United States, which acted to lessen intra-regional trade and to lessen the regularisation and rationalisation of production in Southeast Asia as a whole. Food

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438 deficiencies of local people were largely met by intra-regional
439 trade, particularly the rice and fish movements from Burma, Siam and Indochina to the other territories. The layout of the whole region relative to transocean shipping routes drew much of the intra-regional trade to major foci like Singapore, from which point manufactured imports from other parts of the world were also distributed within the region. Singapore has functioned for a long time as entrepôt centre for the region and some two-thirds of its import values derived from Southeast Asia. Siam had a very balanced trade relation with its surroundings, over 40 per cent of both its imports and its exports being related to Southeast Asia territories.

Extra-Regional Trade

439 The overall trade movements from the region to the rest of the world were huge; annually over the quinquennium 1936-40 commodities valued at well over $2,000 million went overseas from Southeast Asia and some $1,200 million of goods moved into the region, quite apart from the intra-regional trade. The disparity of values moving in and out of Southeast Asia has for years been paralleled in the trade of each country, the disproportion being least in the case of the Philippines and greatest for Burma. The disparity went deeper; since the Southeast Asia output was of bulky, raw or partially-processed commodities, the outgoing tonnage far exceeded the incoming tonnage and the carriage involved made Southeast Asia one of the busiest oceanic shipping areas of the world, an activity swollen further by the great amount of coastwise shipping made necessary by the insular character of the region. It was largely the absence of this shipping which paralysed the region during the war years.

By 1947, re-establishment of trade flows was becoming apparent, though Indochina and the East Indies were still largely isolated. Southeast Asia commercial activity then showed a new pattern: about $3,500 million of goods went into the region as against $2,500 million passing out. While these figures included both intra- and extra-regional trade, they were mostly the latter; they involved an entirely new valuation of goods and a substantial addition could be added for "black" or unreported trade.

Nevertheless, the overall figures showed that Southeast Asia was absorbing far more in value than it was exporting. Part of the

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SOUTHEAST ASIA NUTRITION DENSITIES
(Average number of persons per rice-acre per annum)

Quinquennium	*Burma*	*Indo-china*	*Siam*	*Java and Madoera*	*Philip-pines*	*Malaya*
1916–20	1.23	1.75	1.66	4.12	3.13	—
1921–25	1.19	1.67	1.57	4.27	2.67	5.61
1926–30	1.14	1.61	1.57	4.50	2.69	6.13
1931–35	1.19	1.64	1.63	4.60	2.76	6.42
1936–40	1.25	1.63	1.74	4.96	2.79	7.02
1946–50	2.0	2.1	1.6	5.9	3.9	7.2

Because population and the net production of food have increased *pari passu*, it is important to examine the "nutrition density" (persons per acre under rice) since the surplus for export depends on low internal consumption of the Southeast Asia staple and high internal production. The countries of Southeast Asia pre-war showed considerable differences in nutrition density, from Malaya (the plantation-mining specialist) with 7.2 persons per rice-acre, to Siam (the rice-surplus specialist) with 1.6. Malaya, Java and the Philippines had nutrition densities much higher than the rest of neighbouring countries and in the case of Malaya and Java the nutrition density had been steadily rising, whereas in Burma, Indochina and Siam it was fairly static. Over the same period, the domestic consumption of rice per person sharply dropped (by 20-25 per cent) in Burma, Siam and Java and rose about 10 per cent in Indochina, Philippines and Malaya. The postwar figures available show considerable increases of nutrition density everywhere except in Siam, yet these were changes of degree, not of pattern.

Changing Internal Emphasis

Today the very crowded places are firstly, Middle and North Java, Lower Siam and the Red River Delta, where densities of over 1,500 people per square mile occur, with secondary crowdings in Lower Burma, the Lower Mekong, Central Luzon and the Visayas. These concentrations of people are pre-eminently in agricultural areas (Fig. 116), and they are in fact largely made possible by exceptional soil qualities within an area whose general soil fertility is low. These crowded areas have taken part in a commercialisation of local agriculture and their subsequent history has been firstly a

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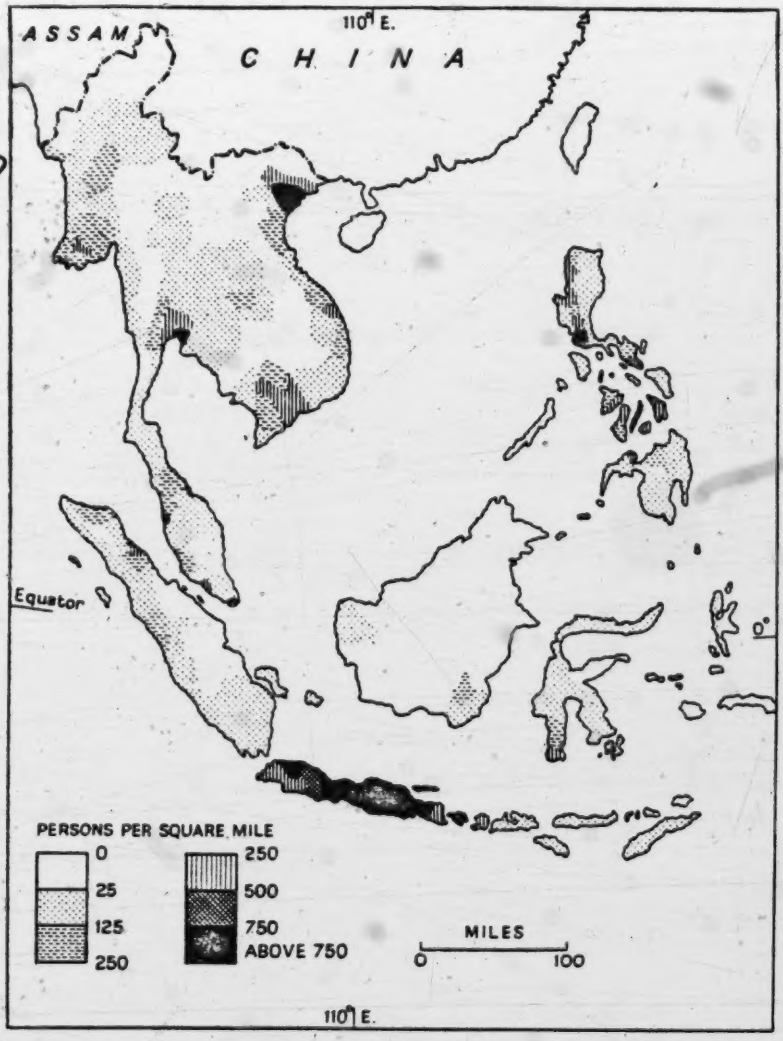

FIG. 116.—Distribution of People in Southeast Asia

rapid increase in people to a point where the new agricultural development ceased to be enough for the large population, leading to the second stage of slow migration and emphasis on commercial agriculture upon newer zones of similar type. Hence the change of emphasis from Tonkin to the Annam coastal plains and then to the Lower Mekong; from the Central Luzon area to Visayan Islands;

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from the plains of Java to the dangerous upper limits of the volcanic country; and from Dry Burma to the Irrawaddy Delta. Sometimes there has been a little agricultural migration—very largely this change has been brought about by different rates of growth rather than movement of people to new places. Everywhere commercialisation of agriculture has led to population increase, because the agricultural technique has not changed from the Southeast Asia tradition of manual work at every stage. The bringing of new areas into cultivation has been followed by an increase in the number of hands to do the cultivating, partly a response to the need and partly made possible by additional nourishment and an added vitality arising from lower disease rates natural to the less populated area, because human diseases are diffused more slowly where people are isolated from one another, as in new areas. Thus Southeast Asia has been the scene of intense pioneering by people seeking, developing and filling new agricultural areas, to create for a time the eldorado of rice-eating peoples and the one safeguard of Indians and Chinese against the vagaries of their own harvests and against the congestions of their home districts.

Minerals in turn have attracted external interest. There has been the pull of gold in the Philippines, of tin in Malaya and nearby islands, of petroleum in Sumatra and Borneo. These great gambles drew capital and pulled in crowds of labourers, wage-earners who were unavailable from local people so tightly held in their manual agricultural systems. Minerals drew millions of Chinese through the South China Sea in the tin rushes and oil rushes of the last hundred years.

Yet another form of commercialised agriculture developed, to provide the industrial raw materials of distant factories in Europe and America and based on crops entirely foreign to Southeast Asia. Sugar, coffee, hemp, rubber, oil palm proved highly successful in this terrain where they had never existed before. Large plantations of them were laid out, still more wage-earning labour was absorbed, a still greater production was obtained, drawing more and more people into virgin areas. Migrations from India and China were further stimulated to work upon the plantations whose uneven development, in successions of booms and depressions, alternately attracted migrants in the boom years and sent them home again in the depressions.

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Political Convergence

438 These local products for commerce not only stimulated export
174 trade; they stimulated import trades to feed the migrant peoples,
162 to dress them, and to dress the agriculturists so preoccupied that
166 they could no longer spare time to weave for themselves. And trade itself drew external interests; Chinese and Indian traders came in to monopolise middleman functions and Europeans came in and worked out here the complex balancing of their own industrial systems far away. Britain stimulated the commercialisation of Burmese rice production as an assurance of cheap food for an industrialising, overpopulated India. The Dutch fanned out from Java into the adjoining islands. Not to be outdone, the French moved into Indochina as a base for their China trade. Germans for a time controlled the copra trade of the farther eastern islands. Thus all the major Western European powers had colonial interests in the expanding peoples, the expanding production and the expanding needs of Southeast Asia. And the major oriental powers, India, China and Japan, had equally direct interest in Southeast Asia (Fig. 117) as an outlet for their people, a source of rice, a source of raw materials for their industries, and finally as outlet for their own industrial products, India and Japan being mostly involved in this, the latest phase.

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Internal Divergences

The resulting pattern of people is one of unparalleled diversity in stages of evolution from subsistence to commerce, in densities of people, in ethnic types, in languages (Fig. 118). The similarity of setting, circumstance and products have disrupted Southeast Asia within itself by economic rivalry in producing similar commodities, and the divergencies of overseas connections with different colonial powers established divergent trade streams, currency differences, educational differences and political differences. Political and economic forces released in Europe and America had their repercussion within Southeast Asia, by means of which French protectionist policies virtually isolated Indochina from its neighbours and Filipinos turned their backs upon Asia. Siam has been wooed, ignored or bullied, depending on the fluctuation of Anglo-French relations in Europe and the opportunism of the U.S. in building up its bloc in East Asia. All sorts of colonial systems have been

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953) 1956 AO7 Central Thai
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433 affected by these few importing countries' determination
648 to be self-sufficient in food.

181 A dual economy as a distinctive character of colonial
433 rule is a theory propounded by some Dutch economists who contend that in tropical dependencies there are two distinct systems of economy. In the Western sector economic forces act in strict accordance with the economic laws enunciated by the earlier classical economists; but in the Eastern sector these laws have no force, and Western economic principles are inapplicable. The Western sector is ultra-capitalist since economic forces act freely, not even subject to the social inhibitions which still restrain them in Europe or the Western world; the Eastern sector, on the other hand, is precapitalist, with prestige carrying more weight than profit and communal influence restraining the individual desire of gain.[17] One
433
438 of the consequences of a dual economy is that it is difficult
439 to conduct business because the people will not trade on
648 Western lines. Inefficiency in trade leads to high operational cost and thus to social waste. Moreover, there is a likelihood of exploitation of indigenous people by Western traders as well as by foreigners of Asian origin who are free from social restraint.

563 One feature that has long been common to the countries of Southeast Asia and is so obvious that it could not fail

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17. J. S. Furnivall, "Cooperation, Competition, and Isolation," Southeast Asia in the World Today, ed. Phillips Talbot, op. cit., p. 71.

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[438] One reason for this is economic advantage. The coming of rubber, in particular, has given to the Malay peasant of the west coast an income considerably higher, on the whole, than that of the east coast peasant.

The effects of Westernization are profound. But they do not lie in crude physical displacement of the peasant or degradation of his living conditions. They lie in the widening of the gap between his expanding range of wants and his level of productivity, and in his inability to measure and in any way control the economic forces operating in his field. Westernization has meant for the peasant an enlargement of the social horizon—more knowledge, through better communications and education, of other places, of other peoples of kindred and dissimilar interests. It has created new ambitions: for different clothing, for new uses of leisure, for a better status for his children, for a position of power in the political scene. All this has disturbed the traditional patterns of peasant society. These patterns, and the class structure of South East Asian society of which they were a part, were probably never too satisfactory to the peasant. Anxiety and evasion must have often been the response to either too rigid or too elastic a rule—and the peasant seems often to have suffered from the exactions of his superior in the social scale. But the scope of the system was known, if not its precise implications. Nowadays the scope of the system has for the most part passed beyond the peasant's grasp, and much of it has become de-personalized.

To illustrate this by giving a more concrete analysis of some of the values in the peasant's life, let me take the area of Malaya and Indonesia where Islam is the major religion of the people.

In his daily life the Indonesian or Malay peasant is governed largely by the canons of behaviour, the ties of friendship and neighbourliness, the relations of work and social intercourse of his village community. So much is this so that in Java the *desa*, the village, was crystallized by the Dutch into an administrative and developmental unit, and its communal structure strengthened for welfare purposes. But as important as the village, and indeed often basic to its structure, are the family and larger kin organizations. From these a person gets his social status and much of his land and other property, and they have the primary role in his marriage and other crucial events in his progress through life.

Such domestic and local relationships also provide a framework for the peasant in his attempts to come to terms with the forces of nature and human destiny. His world of spirits is a local world. In Indonesia the ancestors do not play the predominant role which they do, for instance, in Annam. But the village, the seashore, the surrounding jungle, wells, trees, and stones are the home of many kinds of spirits, which afflict man with sickness or misfortune, or stand by him as his familiars to guard him. Basic in the religion of the Indonesian peasant is this local, essentially parochial, spirit element. All these values guide his economic and social conduct, and mean a great deal to him.